1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. The earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha*. After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák.

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák. *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X

[The above diagram represents the sections into which the map is divided. The sections of the map are numbered accordingly. --Analyst]

1: Gunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 103 Low-land or Red-land, and *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land, both of which names are used by the old Chinese travellers; by Fa-Hian, A.D. 400, who calls the kingdom *Kie-chha;* and by Hwan Thsang, A.D. 640, who calls it *Ma-lo-pho*. The name of *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land, is also applied to the Lhasan kingdom of Great Tibet. The two central districts of Great Tibet are *dBus*, and *gTsang*, usually pronounced *U* and *Tsang*, or jointly *U-Tsang*. But the uncorrupted pronunciation is preserved by Ptolemy in *Dabasæ*, who must be the people of dBus; and in Turner's *Pue-koa-chin*, which is most probably *dBus-Kha-pa-chan*, or the "snowy land of *dBus*." Ladák was formerly subject to Lhasa, to which it paid a small tribute until A.D. 1834, when it was seized by Zoráwar Sing, the enterprising general of Mahárája Guláb Sing, of Jammu; and it now forms a part of his new kingdom of Kashmir.

101 Ladák is inhabited by a peculiar race of people, who call themselves *Bot-pa*,* who speak a peculiar language called Tibetan, and who profess the religion of Buddha, under a peculiar hierarchy of monks called Lamas. The name of Tibet is entirely unknown to the people as well as to the Indians, who call them Bhotiyas, and their country Bhutan. The use of the names of Bot and Bhutan is probably not older than the tenth or twelfth century, when the Buddhists, having been expelled from India, the hill country in which they settled naturally acquired the name of Bauddha-sthan or Bauddh-than, and Bod-tan or Bot.

According to Klaproth, Tibet is a Mogul word, which

640, calls it *Ma-lo-pho* or *Mar-po*, that is "red," there is still some doubt about the true meaning of the name.

* The name is spelt *Bod*, but pronounced *Bot*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 should more properly be written Tubet. But the name of Ti-bat (تبت) is mentioned by Abu Zaid Al Hasan, in A.D. 915, by Ibn Haukal in about A.D. 950, by Abu Rihán in 1030, and afterwards by Edrisi in A.D. 1154, all long prior to the Mogul conquests of Changez Khan in the 13th century, before whose time it is highly improbable that any Mogul names could have been in use in Persia. Mir Izzet Ullah says that Tibet is a Turki word signifying shawl-wool: but I should think the shawl-wool was called Tibeti because it came from Tibet. One might as well derive the name of India from indigo. There is no trace of the name of Tibet nor even of Bot in any of the classical authors: but the people are most probably described under the name of Seres, the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary, from whom the western merchants obtained their silks. According to Pausanias,* "the Greeks called the silkworm *Ser*, but the people of Serika probably gave it another name." Now the Tibetans call a worm *Srin*, or *Srin-bu*, and the silkworm *Dar-kyi-Srin*; and Pausanias says that the silkworm was twice the size of a beetle, Σειρην. As the Greeks had not seen the silkworm when they first used the name of Ser, it seems to me more than probable that they would have adopted the native name rather than have invented one of their own.

4.—DISTRICTS OF LADÁK.

634 The different districts of Ladák have been partially
103 named according to their relative geographical positions; as *Nub-ra*, the western district (or Wessex), and *Lho-yul*, the southern country (or Suffolk). To the south-east

* VI. p. 26.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar, and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu, and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion, with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and productions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin. Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

The following table of the extent and mean elevation

565 463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; [123] (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), chá́thum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--lá́ma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest." Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

[634] ●101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,800 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of *massif* Láhaul.

Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

101 175 631 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet. Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 645 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 425 556 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 175 668 631 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude
114 and the difficulties of travel, the people are very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[10] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

CHAPTER 4

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

T WT 101

Tibetan culture is not restricted to the actual political boundaries of the area marked on the map as Tibet. Fluctuating and ill-defined as these boundaries are in themselves (Amdo (*A-mDo*),[1] in north-eastern Tibet and the eastern part called Kham (*K'hams*) were looked upon by China until lately as provinces of her own, respectively named Tsinghai and Si-kang), they still lie well within the far more extensive region where Tibetan culture is to be found. The total area over which the Dalai Lama and his government recently held sway was generally considered to cover 600,000 square miles – a very vast one. The five million or so inhabitants of this country have, despite their small numbers, produced a culture which is original, peculiarly adapted to the extraordinary environment in which the pople live, and sufficiently characteristic to be immediately recognizable when it is encountered outside its boundaries.

The extensive distribution and general uniformity everywhere of Tibetan culture are aspects which travellers in the regions where it is to be found have often remarked upon. From the east on the borders of Chinese Szechwan, to Kashmir in the west, from lake Koko Nor in the north to the Himalayas and even beyond them to the south (see Map 5), that is over thousands of miles, Tibetan culture forms an entity of its own, in which those who have elaborated it for their use move

T WT 104

[1] Romanization of Tibetan spelling is in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ka, k'ha, ga, nga,	*tsa, ts'ha, dza, wa,*
cha, ch'ha, ja, nya,	*zha, za, a, ya, ra, la,*
ta, t'ha, da, na,	*sha, sa, ha, a,*
pa, p'ha, ba, ma,	*i, u, e, o,* (phonetically modified vowels shows as: *ä, ü, ö*); *wazur* = *w.*

Prefixed and superscribed consonants are shown by a small letter before a capital; thus *rGya.* Tibetan names and words in the text are given phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, followed by the actual Tibetan orthography, romanized in brackets.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ 1

about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of U (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as U-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

WT 114

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT 101

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti.

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh.

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet.

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation.

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in U-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Mōns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine [101] people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emi- [144] grants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races intermingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 Of the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101 131 563 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās—are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys, places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans Ad4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. IN ONE OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve [241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the [137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of [132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the [101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs [221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133* Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. Physical aspects. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [132]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. Botany. WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and Fauna. WT 136